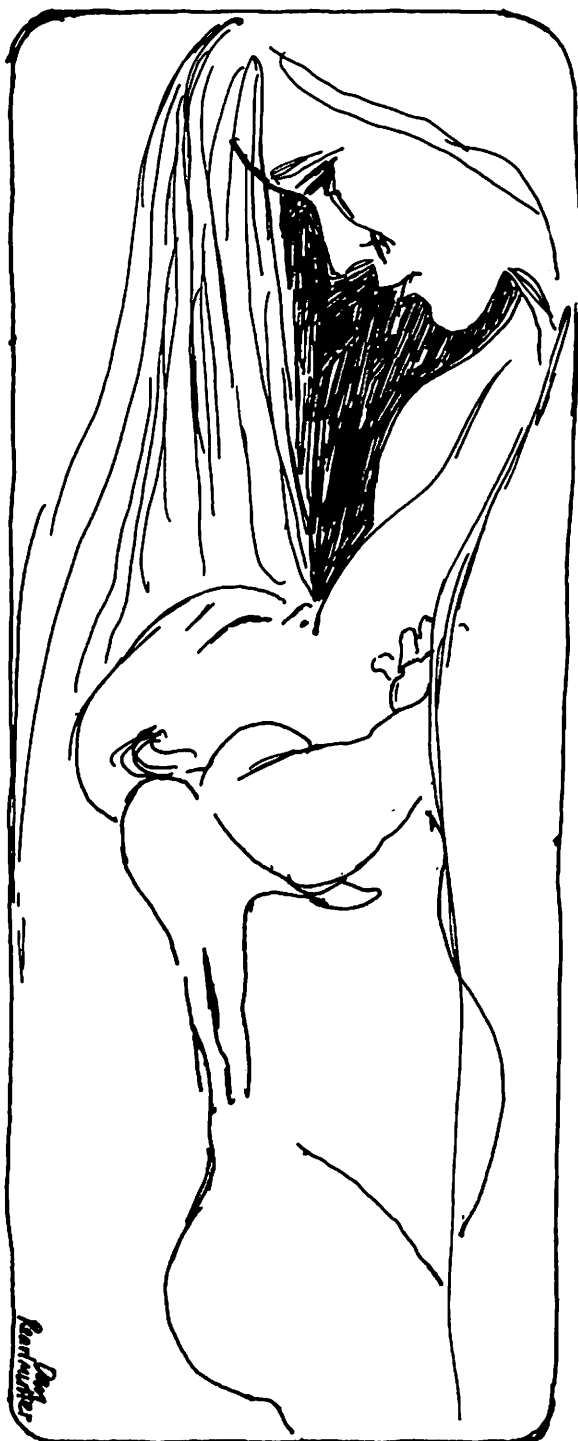


**FOCUS**  
MIDWEST

71



***A new plan: A children's allowance which discourages big families***

***The risks in revenue sharing***

***How to get a doctorate for \$350 in 28 weeks***

***The migrant worker: needed, exploited, discarded***

# OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

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The Most Startling Headline Award to the *Kansas City Star* (7-10-71): "N.A.A.C.P. on Record For Open Housing Policy".

---

"Although he (Rev. Dr. V. Carney Hargroves) emphasized that religious liberty did not exist in Russia, he said he believed that Russian Baptists were generally free to practice their religion."

From an address to the Southern Baptist Convention in St. Louis reported in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

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Walter Kopp, director of special education for the St. Louis School Board, said that the community preferred a segregated school for pregnant girls. "Our parents want these girls separated so that they won't contaminate other children,"

Quoted in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

---

Every day, the FBI receives about 29,000 sets of fingerprints — 13,000 of people arrested, 16,000 of other people. These fingerprints are received from — and in turn made available to — large numbers of federal, state, and local agencies, including 15,000 local law enforcement agencies. During the past 10 years, the following 6 law enforcement agencies were found to have so abused the information received, that for periods of time they were placed on the FBI's restricted list: Police departments in Cabaton, California; Brook Park, Ohio; Westport, Washington; Hobbs, New Mexico; and the Sheriff's offices in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania; and Bernalillo County, Albuquerque, New Mexico. (No survey is available whether the FBI abused the information it collects.)

Released by the American Civil Liberties Union

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The following classified appeared under "Personal" in the July 1, 1971, issue of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: "Seeking patriotic God-fearing Americans for the most challenging, frustrating and important work in America today; to learn about the extent and nature of the conspiracy which threatens life, liberty and property; to fight for men's minds with truth as your only weapon. For information contact the John Birch Society, Box 1051, Maryland Heights, Mo. 63043."

---

A classified ad in *Quicksilver Times*: "No one answered my last 6 ads about a pet rat, so does anybody want a dead rat? Paul."

---

Graduate education tends to inhibit creativity, Dr. Myron Tribus of the Xerox Corporation declared. He cited an experiment involving sophomores and graduate students at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "They were asked to propose a way of meeting a particular human need. The sophomores did significantly better than the graduate students." These classroom observations, he added, have been borne out in industry where it is reported, from time to time, that "the higher the degree level, the lower the probability of an innovation."

---

The U.S. Army maintains files on groups including the American Friends Service Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, and the New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, according to press reports.

---

While Ronald Reagan, Governor of California, was extremely upset that reporters managed to dig up his income tax returns and discover that he paid no taxes during 1970, he had asked the California legislature to pass a law which would throw open tax returns of welfare recipients to the State Welfare Department.

---

The consumer protection law which went into effect April 25 may have an unexpected side effect, according to the AFL-CIO News. It might curtail groups such as the American Security Council and the Church League of America who peddle dubious "investigative reports" to employers who want to screen out "radicals" and "troublemakers." These two groups and other "vigilante-type, extreme right-wing organizations" which act as reporting agencies would have to give persons affected a chance to check derogatory information about themselves.

---

"If a family has wealth in the neighborhood of \$400 million, what's a million in gifts?"

W. Clement Stone quoted in the *Washington Post*

---

Singer Pat Boone, a hero of the right-wing, has been expelled from the Church of Christ for believing in speaking in tongues, miracles and faith healing.

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## CREDITS

All drawings in this issue prepared for FOCUS/Midwest by Daniel Pearlmutter

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F/M 53

SJR: An extraordinarily impressive  
first issue. . . Nat Hentoff

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## Letters

### UNIONS ARE THE REAL BOTTLE-NECK

F/M: Reading your story of CORE'S boycott in the Vol. 8, Number 52 of FOCUS/Midwest I am at a loss to understand why not a word is said about the various unions involved. The brewery workers' union (there are several with headquarters in the new Gambrinus Hall) are ethnically controlled — mostly Germans, Czechs, Poles, Austrians, and Hungarians. I know some of them; they still talk about niggers and I doubt whether they ever rented their hall to any black organization. There is the real bottle-neck. If you want to help CORE, a story about the union situation would be revealing.

Walter Hoops  
St. Louis, Missouri

### FROM ACROSS AN OCEAN

F/M: Your recent issues on the poverty in the midwest are a credit to your publication. The injustices outlined can be felt across an ocean.

Ed Sachs  
Bridport, Dorset, England

### ONLY ONE QUESTION

F/M: I am seriously considering having my poetry published. The only question I have concerns copyrights. Do you grant them?

M. K.  
Chula Vista, California

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## *Grand Juries Become Political Tools*

Recent events in Chicago and St. Louis indicate that the traditional "power structure" has assumed control of the grand jury, and has perverted its functions for political ends.

The founders of this nation thought highly of the grand jury. They guaranteed its protection to all persons in the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution. In 180 years the grand jury has proved to be not only a safeguard against oppressive government as the founders envisioned but also a major instrument through which common citizens could take effective action against felons in positions of power. Instances in which grand juries were the moving force behind cleanups of corrupt political machines and criminal organizations are legion and legendary. The grand jury became, in other words, the one structure of government which institutionalized "people power."

In Chicago, Judge Joseph A. Power, a political crony of Mayor Richard Daley, has managed to forestall, at least temporarily, the issuing of indictments returned by a grand jury which investigated the slaying of two Black Panthers during a police raid. He has previously attempted, unsuccessfully, to prevent the return of the indictments and to hold the special prosecutor in contempt. Indictments against police officers, or State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, also a political intimate of the mayor, would be a substantial embarrassment to Daley.

In St. Louis, the perversion has taken a different form: the grand jury has become a ventriloquist's dummy for political judges who pull the string and put the words in the jury's mouth. Following the burning of the Washington University ROTC building some time ago, a grand jury was instructed to investigate campus disruptions. The jury issued a report blaming disruptions on faculty tenure! Support for this conclusion was difficult, not to say impossible, to find in the report. Asked about the seeming lack of foundation, the foreman of the grand jury stated, "We didn't have to find out anything. We already knew what the trouble was." Of course, they "knew" — the judge had told them under the pretext of instructing them about their duties.

In June, St. Louis County Superintendent of Police Robert J. DiGrazia suspended two police officers pending an investigation into charges that they had entrapped individuals into committing crimes. For reasons which are not clear, and which the daily press seems reluctant to investigate, the two suspended officers have considerable political clout in the county; indeed, one of them had applied for the superintendent's job at the time DiGrazia, a native Californian and newcomer to St. Louis, was appointed. A grand jury was summoned. It issued a report which was highly critical of DiGrazia's handling of the department. However, the jury had talked to no experts in the field of police management practices, although at least two with national reputations were available in St. Louis, nor had they learned the intricacies of the law of entrapment.

Missouri has no statute guaranteeing the random selection of grand jurors. Judges are free to appoint members of their golf foursome and others whose right-thinking they have had plenty of opportunity to sound out. A statute enacted by the recent legislature, prohibiting anyone from serving on a grand

jury more than once in ten years, may be a first step in returning the grand jury to the people. At least it will eliminate the perennials.

But that is a small step indeed. Until more effective steps are taken, all citizens have good reason to be distrustful and discount grand jury findings by the political and social mores of the appointing judge.

## *Wrong Place for Prison*

A new maximum security prison is planned for Missouri at Steele, in the far corner of southeastern Missouri's Bootheel about 10 miles from the Arkansas border. For all, white and Black, visiting inmates will mean high transportation costs. Most likely, Blacks will find no accommodation in nearby communities. For residents of St. Louis this means a roundtrip of nearly 500 miles and for those coming from Kansas City nearly 900 miles. According to former State Senator John E. Downs of St. Joseph, few medical or educational services for inmates would be available in surrounding communities.

Missouri does not need a little Siberia for its prisoners. Any plan to locate a prison at Steele ought to be abandoned.

## *Punitive Tax Leveled Against Church*

A Shawnee County, Kansas assessor has reacted strongly to the decision of a United Presbyterian Church commission on religion and race to give \$10,000 to a legal defense fund for Angela Davis. Miss Davis is a black militant and admitted Communist. The county assessor, George Schnellbacher, has put the various Presbyterian churches in his county on the tax rolls, according to news reports, because he contends that the contribution to the Angela Davis fund means that their church property is no longer being used exclusively for religious purposes.

Schnellbacher also stirred up other county assessors. Louis Earl, Sedgwick County assessor, stated that taxpayers "must pay higher taxes to make up for the exemptions of a church that can afford to give \$10,000 to aid a Communist who is dedicated to destroy all churches and this country itself."

The American Civil Liberties Union of Western Missouri and Greater Kansas City (including Johnson and Wyandotte counties in Kansas) charged Schnellbacher with "using the taxing power to enforce his own political views. It is also a violation of the United States Constitution," said the ACLU "to put the Presbyterian Church on the tax rolls. Under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment, state officials such as Schnellbacher must provide equal treatment rather than engage in arbitrary attacks on churches and persons. The Roman Catholic and Missouri Synod Lutheran Churches in this country, including Kansas, have spent far more than \$10,000 in legislative campaigns to secure public funds for their church schools. This is an improper activity, whereas the use of church funds to provide legal assistance through the courts is not improper."

The ACLU has taken no position on the Angela Davis case. It does not question the right of the government to tax all churches, particularly profit-making enterprises. It quite properly has insisted that "taxation should not be punitive" or enforced solely because some public official doesn't like what a church does.

## A Church Responds

Action Against Apathy is composed of West St. Louis County citizens concerned with reform on local issues. Late in June it met at Trinity Lutheran Church in Kirkwood. Several members of the group belong to that church and the Church Council had given permission for the meeting knowing that Percy Green of ACTION was to speak.

Green's talk was moderate and temperate. Questions, both critical and favorable, were also moderate.

After the meeting, when Percy Green went out to his car, a convertible, he found its tires and top slashed by unknown vandals. Lettered on it, crudely in white paint was: NIGGER GO HOME.

Members were outraged. Trinity Lutheran, at that time, was without a regular pastor. Ministering to the church on the following Sunday, was Rev. Andrew M. Weyerman, professor of Homiletics at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. The topic for his sermon, fittingly, was The Christian's Political Responsibility. He gave permission for a member of the church to arise, immediately after his sermon and before communion, to make a statement. This member expressed his outrage at the act of hooliganism. Silently a number of persons in the church arose to signify their support for the statement.

The doors at the rear of the church opened. Standing alone by his own desire, although other members of the church had wished to walk with him, the congregation's one black member walked down the aisle. He carried, cradled in his arms, a slashed auto tire on which had been lettered boldly: NIGGER GO HOME.

Reverently he deposited the tire on the altar and moved away. Rev. Weyerman then proceeded to give communion.

## They Let A Champion Get Away

Great editors in the field of religious journalism are so rare as to be almost extinct, Robert Hoyt, founding editor of the *National Catholic Reporter* in Kansas City, is one such man. Yet he was dumped by the managing hierarchy of NCR when circulation was at a point that the guiding hands felt was dangerously low.

Figures have a way of being variously interpreted and one way of looking at NCR's statistics showed that the decline in subscriptions had been halted and a renaissance was in the offing. But that isn't the way the men who counted saw it, and Hoyt was scapegoated.

NCR did itself no glory with the dismissal and looked silly by burying the obvious front-page story it required inside the tabloid. Reader reaction was immediate and overwhelmingly supported Hoyt.

Almost every Catholic paper in the nation is owned by a bishop, so critical Catholic journalism hardly existed when Hoyt began the national weekly amid cries "It can't be done." He courageously and almost singlehandedly tried to change the tone of American Catholic newspapers, but a failure is evident.

Comments in the Catholic press over Hoyt's dismissal were less than incisive. This is not remarkable since Hoyt was never given proper recognition in either Catholic newspapers or by the Catholic Press Association. This professional organization annually

awards prime movers in Catholic journalism and has annually neglected Hoyt.

So it would appear that he has failed. But the real failure is in the Catholic press.

They had a champion and they let him get away.

## The Slavish Labor Movement

In view of Anheuser-Busch's promise to representatives of the U.S. Government to improve its minority hiring practices which were below governmental standards — in effect proving CORE's earlier accusations — it is worthwhile to cite the Beer Bottlers' 187 Newsletter of August, 1970. Under the headline "All Organized Labor Backs Busch" the letter claims credit for Local 187 for mobilizing "the forces of organized labor to fight the boycott of Anheuser-Busch products" by CORE. It succeeded in having the Greater St. Louis Labor Council, AFL-CIO, unanimously adopt a recommendation not to support CORE.

"Speaking out on the resolutions, Local 187's Financial Secretary Nick Ludwig pointed out that CORE's tactics were similar to the 'protection rackets' used years ago. We can't let this happen at Anheuser-Busch or anywhere else."

The remarks were soundly applauded.

Noted Ted Schafers, respected business and financial editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, in a recent article: "Few companies in the United States have a longer history of working to provide fair employment practices among minorities than this St. Louis brewery. Few have given more time or money to help solve social and racial problems within their plant cities."

Noted Local 187's officers: "We are going to give the company every aid . . ."

We assume that both Financial Secretary Ludwig and Editor Schafers prefer to forget their blind endorsement of the company.

The sell-out of progressive ideals by labor has become a cliché. The unions are just as guilty as management of unfair hiring practices — if not more so. The slavish labor movement clicking their heels at the command of the company at the expense of democratic ideals, of course, is nothing new.

What is different and fun in the Busch case is that the Beer Bottlers and the St. Louis AFL-CIO Council were caught with their collective pants down.

## Ivory Perry Honored

The Urban League of St. Louis distinguished itself by honoring Ivory Perry for his unrelenting fight against lead poisoning. "My duty every day is to help black people," Perry asserts, "and then I can't limit my work to black people. I must help all people, Mexicans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, poor whites — all people who are kicked around for no reason whatsoever."

To many whites Perry is a militant. That's their hang-up. His work in housing and in lead poisoning should have earned him the gratitude of all in the St. Louis area.

St. Louis is a better city because of men like Ivory Perry.

### **Missouri Governor Honored by YAF**

The news that Governor Warren E. Hearnes would receive an award from the rightist Young Americans for Freedom, prompted FOCUS/Midwest to write the following letter to the Governor:

"The press reports that you will receive an award from the Young Americans for Freedom. If you are not too well acquainted with the background of this organization, (we are) happy to submit such information. It is of deep concern (to us) that the dignity of your office is used by this group. (We) refuse to believe that you can endorse their principles which oppose the best of what can be found in the Democratic Party . . . ."

We do not refuse to believe anymore. He accepted the award.

### **St. Joseph Hospital Adheres to Questionable Policies**

On May 8, a woman who had been beaten and stabbed eight times was taken to the emergency room of St. Joseph Hospital, Kirkwood, Missouri. The victim was left on an ambulance stretcher for nearly 30 minutes according to press reports, and then rushed to St. Louis County Hospital where, a week later, she was still in serious condition. How a hospital can continue to receive tax money while "neglecting" emergency patients is a logical question.

Donald Hewitt, St. Louis County director of hospitals requested an explanation from St. Joseph. According to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sister Catherine Duff, chief administrator of St. Joseph, replied that there was a misinterpretation of hospital policy concerning rape cases by the personnel on duty at the time. Dr. Hewitt then notified Sister Catherine that St. Joseph membership in the St. Louis County Emergency Care Program was suspended indefinitely. The membership has since been restored, but citizens need further assurances that confusion over emergency treatment will not result in harm to a patient.

There is more to the story than appeared in the press. For example, a hospital source has privately admitted that the nurse in charge of the emergency room the night of May 8 was new on the job and was unsure of the "hospital policy" in rape cases, a matter of some consequence for Catholic hospitals since a possible abortion is in question. She telephoned the hospital administrator and was told to do what is "usually done" in those cases. It was never reported that, contrary to St. Joseph's own requirements, no physician was consulted in this decision. The victim's blood pressure and pulse were taken but she was not otherwise treated.

What made hospital officials suspect rape? The victim was asked if she had been sexually assaulted and her condition was such that she could not remember. Therefore, rape was presumed.

She had not, in fact, been raped, doctors at another hospital determined.

The victim was not only not treated for rape, her eight knife wounds were also not attended to at St. Joseph.

St. Joseph adheres to dubious policies also in other areas, in which a tax-supported institution ought to be above reproach. Within the past dozen years it was common practice to segregate black patients from white. More recently, the hospital announced it had a clinic when it was trying to meet a requirement for establishing a residency program. A

number of beds was announced for clinic-type indigent patients. However, no real attempt was made to use these beds for indigents or to make the public aware that such space existed.

It is noteworthy that in Meacham Park, a ghetto community, it is not nearby St. Joseph that has established a clinic, but St. John's Mercy Hospital which is located much further away.

The full facts of how St. Joseph is operating are not being publicized.

### **Ichord — the Least Desirable**

If Representative Richard Ichord (D), Chairman of the notorious House Internal Security Committee, chooses to seek the Democratic nomination for Governor, we must hope that the Democratic voters will refuse him the nomination. Should he, by sorry mischance, become the nominee, then it will be necessary for liberals, whatever their party affiliation, to work actively to elect his opponent.

The Ichord mentality is as unresponsive to the needs of our times and our citizens as is ex-General Maxwell Taylor, former Ambassador to Vietnam. In response to a question in the *New York Times* publication of the Pentagon Report, the General said: "A citizen should know (only) these things he needs to know to be a good citizen and discharge his functions."

Ichord has publicly stated that he can afford to ignore his constituents because they represent a broad spectrum of the state's economic and political thinking. Democratic voters are urged to ignore him first.

Incidentally, the democratic gubernatorial candidates as a whole leave us in a rather dejected mood. William Morris, Edward Dowd, and Earl Blackwell — what a choice! We hope to hear more from Joseph Teasdale before pronouncing judgment. It might be a wide open race between different personalities, but on issues the scramble has all been right of center.

### **Chicago Voters Reject Racism**

Chicago politicians cringe in terror whenever confronted by any issue with racial connotations. Conventional wisdom has it that blue-collar, white-collar, and "ethnic" voters are politically motivated primarily by fear and dislike of Blacks. This racial antipathy forms a major part of the so-called "social issue" that Spiro Agnew tried (unsuccessfully) to exploit last November.

At no point is white-black antagonism more clearly focused than on the Chicago Public School system. On June 8, the issue came to a head — with gratifying results.

The Chicago Board of Education is appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by the City Council. The nominees, serving staggered five-year terms, are selected from a list submitted by various civic, educational, and labor organizations. The Mayor is not legally obligated to choose from this list (in two instances he did not), but this system generally screens out political hacks and produces instead a relatively qualified Board.

Certain self-appointed spokesmen for the white ethnic communities have complained for years that the Board was promoting busing and other schemes for racial integration. Even if true (which unfortu-



nately it is not), it would be understandable in view of the fact that well over fifty per cent of Chicago's public school children are Black. The solution, according to these spokesmen, was to elect school board members from geographical districts throughout the city. The Illinois General Assembly, in 1969, finally, resignedly agreed to have a referendum held on an elected vs. appointed school board on June 8, 1971.

The campaign was most unusual: Mayor Daley kept his organization completely out of the contest, taking no sides on the issue. Thus Chicagoans, for once, were able to express themselves at the polls without coercion from patronage workers. Seventy-seven per cent of the voters backed the present system. The proponents of an elected board were able to carry only one of the fifty wards. Even the ethnic strongholds of the Northwest and Southwest Sides voted to retain an appointed school board. The referendum proved conclusively that the racists are more noisy than numerous.

### ***Editors Beware:***

#### ***Philbrick on the Loose***

Articles in the *Wall Street Journal* and in *Grassroots Editor* expose Herbert ("I Led Three Lives") Philbrick as running the U.S. Press Association, which distributes free to weekly newspapers editorials which sometimes are paid for by special interests — such as General Electric attacking a wage increase.

William B. Rotch writes in the *Grassroots Editor*, published by weekly newspaper editors and produced by the S.I.U. School of Journalism at Carbondale, Illinois, that the "Association" purports to serve "the heart of grassroots America" with editorial material from New York and Washington.

Rotch discloses a Philbrick communication "To Our Clients" which reads:

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### ***Group to Seek Reform of United Fund in St. Louis***

The policies of the St. Louis United Fund have finally caused the formation of an organized opposition, "Citizens Concerned About The Urban Crisis," and the prospects of a deep split in St. Louis fund-raising efforts.

In announcing the formation of the group, Rev. C. Garnett Henning and Jack Quigley, co-chairmen, invite the Board of Directors to give serious consideration to changing their policies and practices and recognize needs now ignored by the Fund or face the creation of "an alternative fund which would more adequately respond to the urban crisis."

The newly formed group does not seek confrontation politics. It does not even ask the UF Board "to respond to us as a group." It requests that the Board resolve the issues on their merits and on their own.

Dissatisfaction with United Fund allocations has been growing over the last two years. RAP (Radical Action for People), a group of professionals in the social field, prepared a booklet of criticism which found wide circulation among reformist and radical groups. The *St. Louis Journalism Review*, a newspaper by working journalists about St. Louis media, discussed the blind acceptance of United Fund news releases and the unquestioned support of United Fund policies and pronouncements. Meanwhile, the public learned that a management study commissioned by the United Fund was also highly critical but the study itself was never made available to the press.

The Citizens Concerned About the Urban Crisis have drawn up a bill of particulars which points out the absence of the poor and minorities from decision-making bodies with the result that many agency programs "are irrelevant and less than helpful at the points of greatest need." The once-a-year involvement in the United Fund, charges the CCAUC, permits corporations to display "public concern" while avoiding any meaningful involvement in solving the urban crisis during the remaining months of the year.

Dominance by wealthy business leaders forecloses change, it avoids controversy, and keeps the United Fund from supporting agencies which are genuinely concerned about social and not only individual needs, claims the new group.

The United Fund faces a serious challenge. If it has the vitality to recognize changing needs, the dynamism to move into new areas, and the will to listen to new voices, it will be able to survive. If not, it deserves to die and make room for new institutions.

### ***Campaign Launched to Overcome Inadequacies of State Legislatures***

The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures has published an "Agenda for Reform" of state legislatures with the purpose of creating a supporting constituency for the movement, mobilizing resources to lobby for reform, and plans to seek changes in accountability, procedures, organization, independence, representativeness, information handling capability, and functionality.

An earlier report evaluated the 50 state legislatures and found Illinois to be 3rd and Missouri to be 35th. The rankings reflected the workings of the legislative machinery and neither the policies nor the product. In



the five areas investigated Illinois and Missouri ranked as follows:

	Illinois	Missouri
Functional	17	36
Accountable	4	30
Informed	6	40
Independent	2	49
Representative	13	5

The latest study details the inadequacies of the legislatures and advances into the arena of action. Excerpts from the study follow:

America today is beset by crisis after crisis. . . . Underlying each crisis and feeding it like oxygen feeds fire is the biggest crisis of them all: the crisis of confidence. Americans in alarming numbers are losing confidence in the ability of their institutions to deal with the problems that they perceive with growing clarity.

State legislatures stand high on the list of institutions that need reform. Because of their central role in the American system, reform efforts among state legislatures also hold the promise of high returns.

Deficient state legislatures are at the source of some of the gravest problems confronting our society today. Improving state legislatures is a precondition for improving the operations of government at the state, local and even the federal level. It is therefore a precondition for improving the quality of life in America.

. . . The attempt to supply the needs of a progressively more complex society from a progressively more centralized federal government hasn't worked for many reasons, including the following ones:

- America is large, a pluralistic country more like a three-ring circus than a "melting pot." Its problems and the cultural/political context in which they arise differ greatly. Federal programs are necessarily uniform and general. . . .

- The states, even when they are ineffective and inadequate, retain enough power so that their constructive participation is necessary to the success of federal programs. Creative capability on the state level, however, has been all too rare.

The state legislature . . . is a fundamental part of some of the most important (problems which the nation faces).

- The weaknesses of legislatures significantly inhibit the ability of state government to respond. Specifically, most legislatures cannot, at present, act confidently and decisively in making laws which deal with major social domestic problems. . . .

- Because the legislature is relatively close to the citizenry its weaknesses have a detrimental effect on the people's confidence in all levels of government. . . .

- The legislature has the responsibility, and should have the capacity, to integrate the diverse and often conflicting wishes of the segments of the society which it serves.

There is widespread agreement among reformers, students of the political process, civic leaders, and legislators themselves, that the legislature has been falling short of fulfilling its key functions. The malfunctioning of the legislature has been traced to deficiencies in the structure which would prevent even the best legislators from working effectively.

These deficiencies are:

- Inadequate staffing,
- Inadequate time,
- Inadequate compensation,
- Weak committee structures,
- Inadequate facilities,
- Inappropriate leadership authority,
- Inadequate rules and procedures,
- Inappropriate size,
- Inadequate code of ethics.

Legislative reform is now on the threshold of a major breakthrough. The research and development

work has been brought to a point where it can begin to pay off. But the payoff will depend upon a substantial effort — now. It will require the investment of energy and resources on the part of every individual, organization, business, industry and agency which understands the crucial nature of the problem and opportunity it presents.

## COMING UP!

*The following topics will be the focus of future issues:*

### CAIRO, ILLINOIS

*We are assembling a series of original articles which will explore what is happening in the most volatile community in the United States.*

### JUDGES AND JUSTICE

*We prefer not to say too much about this issue until it is published.*

### VOTING RECORDS

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## The risks in revenue sharing

PIERRE DEVISE

The case for getting "more power to the people" through federal rather than local controls seems so overwhelming that one hardly knows how to argue it without belaboring the obvious. Perhaps one fruitful approach is to ask the question: "How do we give more power to people who are presently without power?" Blacks, for example, make up a third of Chicago's population but wield only three per cent of the measurable power. Would Blacks get more power under federal or state programs? This question needs no answer.

We might also look at "power to the people" in the very broadest mandate of government, that of the promotion of the "general welfare," particularly from the perspective of conflicts between community interests and special vested interests. It is no secret that special economic and professional interests enjoy a virtual monopoly on access to local and state officials. Consumer lobbies and counter-pressure groups are generally effective only as national organizations in Washington.

When Secretary Wilson claims that what is good for General Motors is good for the country, there is a Ralph Nader in Washington who can give a suitable answer. But who in Chicago can turn around P. J. Cullerton's claim that what is good for Arthur Rubloff is good for the city to read "What is good for Arthur Rubloff is good for P. J. Cullerton?"

This is not to deny that the nation's second largest city does not have a lot of competing special interests. But because of the mayor's marvelous skill as power broker, every deserving party is accommodated. In the case of land-hungry institutional and real estate interests, for example, the most powerful get their coveted territory at bargain prices — the University of Chicago, Michael Reese Hospital, and Illinois Institute of Technology on the south side; Charles Swibel, Circle Campus, and the Medical Center on the west side; and Arthur Rubloff on the north side, to mention a few of the biggest plums. In this way does City Hall exploit a program designed to help poor people by giving eminent domain and tax exemptions (two of the most powerful tools of government) to private corporations that promptly kick the poor people off the land and appropriate it to their own uses.

The primacy of private interests in Chicago is asserted in the very citizen commissions that are supposed to safeguard the general community interests. Thus, the Chicago

Housing Authority is presided over by a leader of the real estate industry as is the Chicago Dwellings Association, explaining in large part the miserable achievements of these programs. A union official is made president of the School Board, reflecting the interest of the teachers' union in maintaining the highest salary structure in the nation.

### Nixon's "Revolution"

In his recent tax revenue sharing proposal, modestly heralded a "new American revolution," President Nixon promised "more power to the people" by returning tax revenues and federal functions to state and local governments. Most of the questions raised by this proposal have revolved around the arithmetic of new dollars that might be transferred to urban programs. Less discussed have been questions involved in the transfer of functions and how this would give "more power to the people."

Three questions should be considered in any proposal for revenue sharing:

(1) How is this decentralization to be balanced against centralizing trends of other administration proposals?

(For example, the take over by states of the zoning and land use powers of cities under the proposed national land-use policy; the shift of administration of HEW and HUD programs from Washington to regional agencies working closely with state counterpart agencies; and the federalization of state health and welfare programs envisaged by the President's new Health Plan and Family Assistance Plan.)

(2) Since the federal government can cede powers only to state governments, and since cities can receive new powers only by delegation and at the discretion of states, would the actual transfer of powers thus favor Republican and rural dominated state governments more than Democratic city halls?

(We do know that urban states would be short changed in funds. Illinois would get 60 cents back on every dollar.)

(3) Would the transfer of federal power to states and cities really "bring more power to the people?"

What kind of power? And to what kind of people? Given a democratic definition of "power to the people," it is our contention that greater rather than less federal power is needed to "give more power to the people."

## States Have Many Political Systems

Although we like to think of all American state and local governments (and of all the governments we sponsor in Latin America and Southeast Asia) as democratic republics, most of these more closely resemble autocratic or oligarchical than democratic republican models. The actual power base and political decision making of most governments have little relation to their nominal, formal, and constitutional elements.

American governments cover the entire range of political types starting with the absolute monarchies of one industry states and cities like Montana and Washington, D.C., moving through various forms of fascistic oligarchies of more complex industrial states and cities like New Jersey and Chicago, and culminating in the pluralistic anarchy of very complex and ungovernable states and cities like California and New York City.

The federal government is the only American government I know that bears any resemblance to the democratic republican model and that is relatively effective.

No American political leader will admit to being an absolute monarch or a fascist power broker. Absolute Monarchy went out of style with the American and French revolutions, and Fascism became *passé* in 1939, the year that Studebaker Corporation changed the name of its top line of cars from Dictator to President.

## Efficiency Vs. Democracy

Most big city mayors must choose between being effective autocrats and ineffective democratic leaders. The contrasting styles and achievements of Mayors Daley and Lindsay offer striking if exceptional examples. Big city machines have nearly disappeared from the American scene with the declining number of patronage job seekers and the increasing sophistication and automation of traditional municipal functions. Machine bosses have given way to efficient city manager types.

The choice between efficient management and democratic participation does not pose much of a problem for these traditional tasks of city government. It is in the social areas of housing, urban renewal, health, education, and welfare that efficiency considerations ought to give way to democratic choice. And these are precisely the areas affected by the functions that the federal government might turn over to cities.

The absence of democracy in local governments should not surprise us. The Constitution provides democratic safeguards only at the federal level and did not originally even require state governments to be democratically constituted. It took almost two centuries of constitutional amendments and Supreme Court interpretations to bring electoral reforms at the state and local levels.

A semblance of separation of powers is often affected by state and local governments. But a typical situation is one in which either the executive or legislative branch of the same party dominates all three branches of government for long periods of time. The example comes to mind of the tremendous power wielded during most of the last 10 years by Chicago's mayor over all three branches of government, not only in Chicago, but in Cook County and the State of Illinois as well.

Direct citizen participation in public affairs often appears as an argument in favor of local government action. But the only viable model of citizen participation we have is the town hall meetings where the town has no more than 25,000 to 50,000 people. In large cities this is feasible only if mayors are willing to decentralize power to neighborhoods, which has happened in very few cities. Even in this area, it is the Federal government that has been the major promoter of neighborhood participation

*"Most big city mayors must choose between being effective autocrats and ineffective democratic leaders."*

by requiring City Hall to establish community conservation councils, OEO neighborhood center councils, and Model Cities planning councils. But many cities, with Chicago in the forefront, have managed to retain control of these community councils, thereby reducing their effectiveness as citizen sounding boards.

## Chicago's Record Poor

How well has Chicago carried out the \$9 billion dollars' worth of federal programs that would presumably be turned over to them entirely? Most of these 116 grants-in-aid programs are administered by three federal departments — HUD, HEW, and DOT. These may be conveniently subsumed into two classes for the purpose of our analysis: programs designed to provide services and facilities for poor, mostly black, people in the inner cities, and those designed to provide services and facilities in new growth communities, typically middle- and upper-class white suburbs. The almost uniform effect of these two kinds of programs in Chicago has been to short-change, victimize, and segregate Blacks in the inner city, and to accelerate and subsidize the flight of whites to the suburbs.

In the major components of urban aid programs — housing, urban renewal, health, education, welfare, and transportation — poor Blacks are worse off today than they were ten years ago. The main beneficiaries of the programs designed to help poor black people have been white middle-class institutions and individuals: universities, hospitals, medical schools, real estate syndicates, physicians, teachers, social workers, shopkeepers, tenants, and home owners.

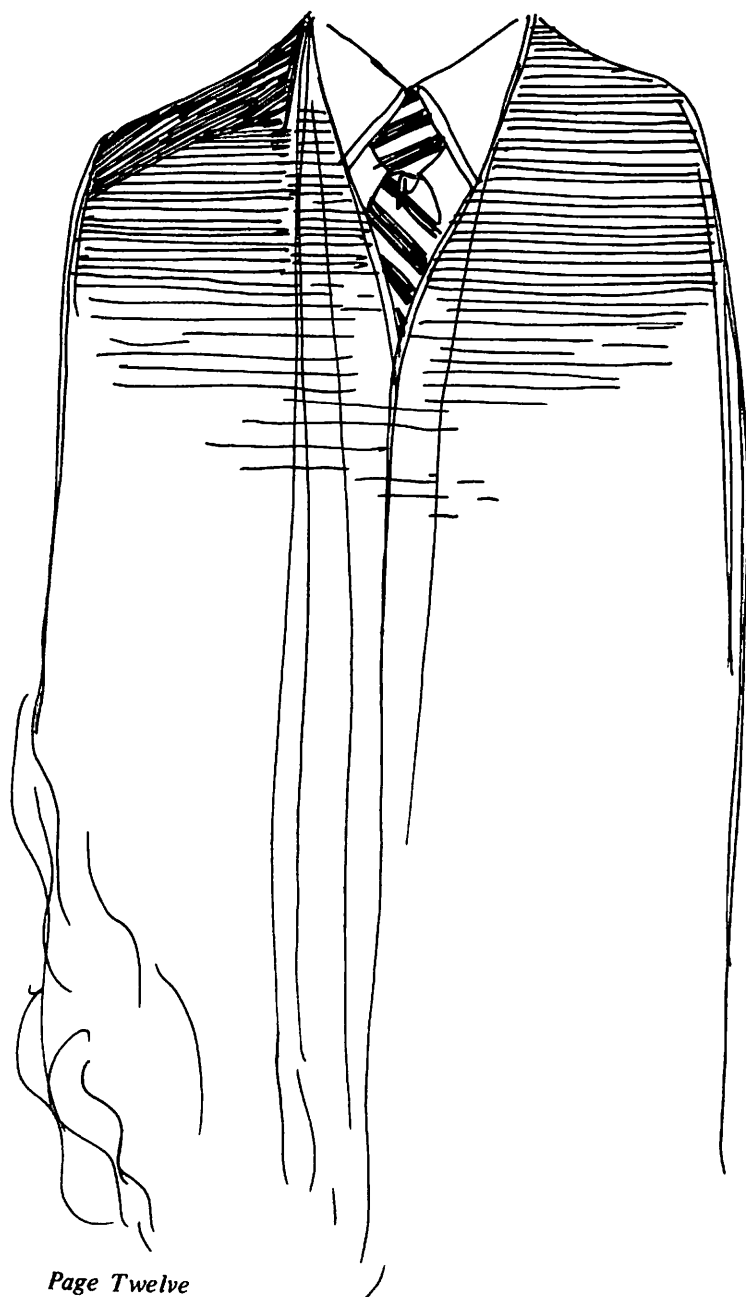
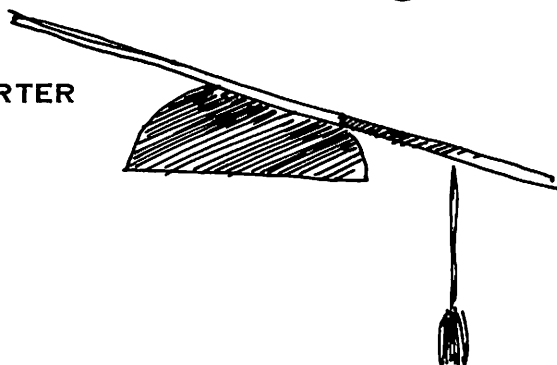
Should one fault the Federal administration for the perversion of these programs into instruments for exploiting the poor? Only to the extent that the previous administration allowed Chicago and many other Democratic City Halls to make a mockery of Federal guidelines. Since January 1969, Chicago no longer gets a blank check from Washington. Practically all programs, including the umbrella Model Cities program, have been brought to a standstill by judicial and administrative actions to give Chicago time to correct the inequities, waste, misrepresentations, and short circuiting of citizen participation.

Turning over complete custody of these programs to Chicago would be tantamount to putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop. This figure of speech can be translated literally. About 1,500 Blacks died unnecessarily and 10,000 housing units and 3,000 commercial and industrial units were demolished or abandoned last year, largely as a result of the forced segregation of one million black Chicagoans, through the combined actions of the private market and the city's programs. How many more Blacks will die, and how many more buildings will be lost if the federal government, the only government willing and able to protect black lives and property through publication decided to give up the effort?

*Pierre de Vise, assistant director of the Hospital Planning Council for Metropolitan Chicago, has previously appeared in FOCUS/Midwest.*

# How to get a doctorate for \$350 in 28 weeks

LEE PORTER



Missouri, among many other states, can claim active institutions within its borders that sell academic degrees. A doctor's degree can be in anyone's hands in a matter of weeks from one of these schools. The major prerequisites include at least \$150, an efficient postman, and access to one of dozens of magazines with "liberal" advertising policies.

At the *Neotarian College of Philosophy*, located in Kansas City, Missouri, a student may select from a variety of degrees such as Doctor of Psychology (Ps.D.), Doctor of Metaphysics (Ms.D.), Doctor of Divinity (D.D.), and Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.). Tuition varies with the degree so that the Ps.D. costs only \$140, you pay \$210 for the Ms.D., \$275 for the D.D., and finally, \$350 for the Ph.D. The interested applicant may deduct 10 per cent from his tuition if he pays the total amount in advance. (The Ps.D. or the Ms.D. are not legitimate degrees. They are not offered or recognized by accredited colleges or universities.)

## Doctor In Ten Weeks

Neotarian's bulletin and related literature omits reference to names and qualifications of the faculty and letters are signed by the Secretary — M. F. Hagan. But some of the courses are described. For example, the Ps.D. candidate must take two courses: Applied Metaphysics and Applied Psychology. The ambitious student could easily become a Doctor in ten weeks regardless of his former academic training or vocational experience. This introduces a contrast beyond comprehension when the Neotarian Ps.D. is compared with the minimum seven years of fulltime effort required for a doctorate from an accredited institution.

Neotarian's Ph.D., besides requiring the two courses discussed above, also lists Metaphysical Healing, Mystical Bible Interpretation, and Basic Philosophy as essential courses. The Ph.D. requires slightly less than seven months of home study.

Testimonials from enthusiastic students and alumni fill one page of their bulletin. For example, J. R. G. of Ontario wrote: "The Neotarian course of lessons opens new horizons of knowledge to the average individual, and enables him to grasp the opportunities presented by the acquisition of additional knowledge."

The absurdities of their brochure reach a highpoint when it is described that Neotarian has retained a sociologist as a consultant who helps students understand their individual personalities.

Those who casually inquire about the college automatically become eligible for membership at large in the "Sigma Chapter" of "Epsilon Delta Chi." They claim that the 30-year-old Greek society extends membership to persons of good moral character. Yet *anyone* who inquires is eligible for membership. The Greek society has *also* retained a sociologist to assist members in "developing knowledge and understanding" about themselves and their potential. Epsilon Delta Chi is not listed among approved or recognized Greek societies.

Also in Kansas City, Missouri is the *American Bible Institute*. They offer the colorful sounding Bachelor of



Bible Philosophy (B.Ph.B.) for \$115, a Master of Bible Philosophy (M.Ph.B.) for \$155, a Doctor of Metaphysics (Ms.D.) for \$235, and a Doctor of Divinity (D.D.) for \$275. Time requirements for the degrees vary from 8 weeks for the B.Ph.B. to 30 weeks for the D.D.

As in the case of Neotarian, nothing is mentioned in their bulletin about admission requirements. However, they claim that:

The American Bible Institute teaches the eternal laws of wisdom and abundance which lights the pathway for every man and woman who comes into this world if they will but walk by that law and by that light.

The correspondence course being offered by the American Bible Institute, will give you a new and simple concept of the art of successful living. By successful living we mean health, living abundance, living happiness, living love, and we do mean living success — here and now.

### "I Don't Know How . . ."

A.B.I.'s bulletin lists testimonials such as the one from D. J. H. of Virginia who wrote: "I could go on all day telling you of the wonderful things that have happened to me. I don't know how to put it in words."

The American Bible Institute was founded in 1957 and is chartered by the State of Missouri to award degrees. Although 14 years younger than Neotarian, the two so-called schools have common characteristics. For example, neither is accredited by a recognized agency. However, they both provide an open door to "Epsilon Delta Chi" and the all knowing sociologist.

The victims, according to a comprehensive study of degree mills conducted by Robert Reid of the American Council on Education, consist of unsophisticated or innocent folks who actually believe they're receiving authentic academic credentials. They are often foreign nationals. The cost in heartbreak and disappointment among the naive is impossible to determine but W. J. Cotter, chief postal inspector of the Post Office Department, claims financial losses run into the millions.

The second group of buyers are those who purchase their degrees to deceive.

Although worthless degrees are dangerous in the hands of any irresponsible person, they are most likely to cause problems when used in the field of Psychology. While several recipients of the phony Ps.D.'s merely hang their diplomas on the wall, others may decide to practice psychology. And so, without meeting any educational or clinical prerequisites, the charlatan can impress most lay people.

It's frightening to consider the damage that has been done by phony psychologists with false credentials. For example, a 1968 Ph.D. graduate of Ohio Christian College, Donald Estes, opened the Harris County Reconciliation Clinic in Houston, Texas. Estes, alias Brandon the Magician, presented himself at the clinic as "chief psychoanalyst." His clients paid as high as \$40 per hour to receive his advice which focused mainly on sex problems. He required every patient to read *Sex Can Be An Art*, a volume with chapters entitled "Men Who Jiggle and Women Who Don't" and "Group Sex, Orgies and Wife Swapping." However, his favorite treatment was to have

young women relieve their sexual tensions by prancing nude before groups of people.

While awaiting trial on the charge of practicing medicine without a license, he stated:

I've had tremendous response since the clinic opened. I've had 100 or 150 clients and there have been only three failures: the girl who brought charges, another patient who had to go to the insane asylum, and one who died.

Operating a degree mill is a way of earning a living. All a proprietor needs to begin a college is a desk, a mail box and a few dollars for printing and advertising. In fact, there are schools that award doctorates which are nothing more than a desk and a telephone in the owner's home or office.

### A "Degree Mill"

Although the term "degree mill" is often used to describe all schools with low standards, the exact meaning here focuses on degree granting institutions with no residential requirement and without accreditation from a recognized agency. Degree mills sell degrees to anyone without concern for age, vocational experience, academic background, moral character, or intelligence.

Why are schools such as Neotarian College of Philosophy and American Bible Institute allowed to sell degrees?

- There are seldom complaints since most innocent buyers are too ashamed to acknowledge their stupidity. Without complaints from citizens, agencies equipped to combat degree mills will not initiate action.

- Laws are extremely lax in some states regarding charters and the legal right to grant degrees.

- Operating a degree mill has proved to be a profitable business and, where there's an easy dollar, the word spreads.

- When, and if, pressure is imposed, or when the future of a mill appears threatened by the law, the proprietor simply moves to another city or state and continues to operate. For example, West Virginia shut down its Central Christian College in 1965. A few months later, the proprietor, Alvin O. Langdon, opened his degree mill in Columbus, Ohio.

- Individuals go on purchasing degrees to deceive their customers, patients, friends, and relatives. As long as academic degrees maintain their status value, phonies will appear in an attempt to share the wealth.

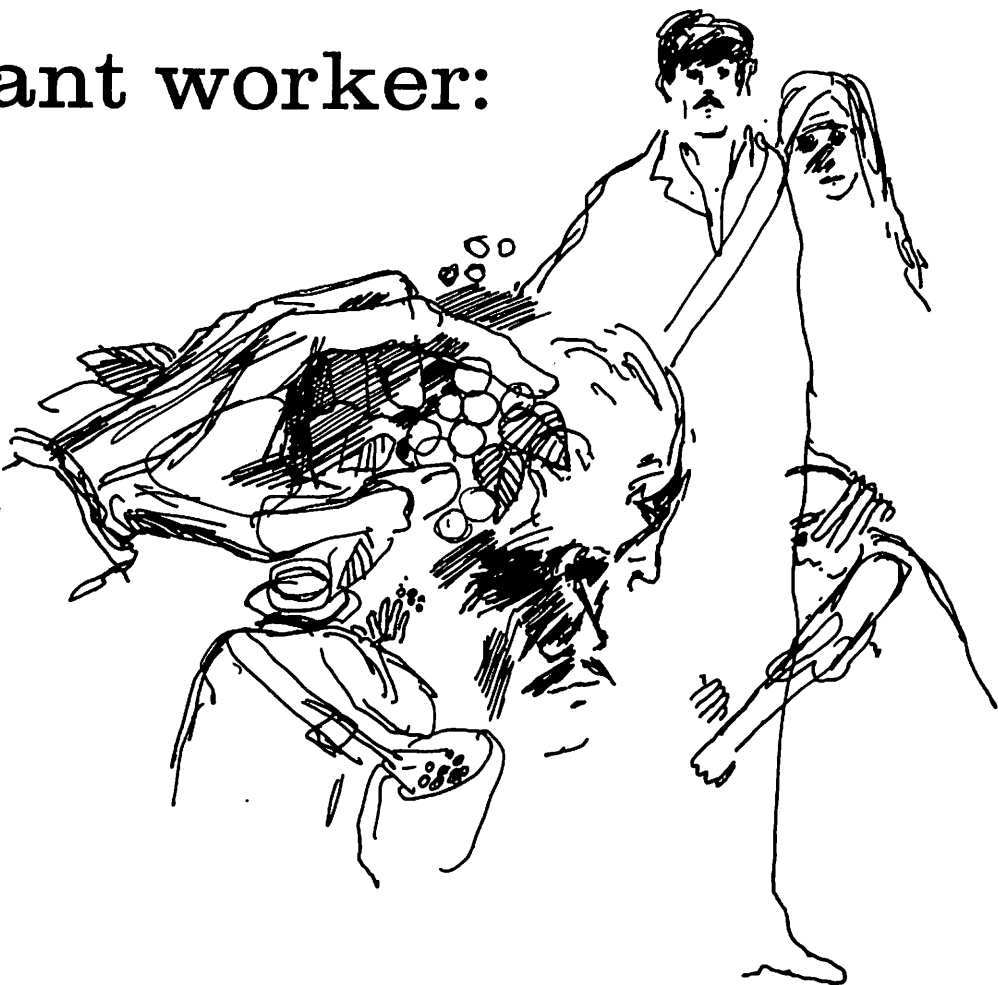
- Degree mill operators in Missouri are often ignored by reputable accreditation agencies and recognized universities. In short, no one has taken interest or has enough power to eliminate the malignancy.

Neotarian started its operation in 1943 while A.B.I. opened its mail box in 1957. While other states have taken the necessary steps toward "cleaning house," Missouri still permits the existence of schools that virtually sell academic degrees.

*Lee Porter is a resident of Syracuse, New York.*

# The migrant worker: needed, exploited, discarded

TOM GILMORE



Six years ago, Clifford Steward wrote in *FOCUS/Midwest* about the plight of migrant workers in the Midwest. Steward spoke of the subsistence wages, the substandard housing and sanitation, and the lack of protective legislation.

Today, nothing has changed. For the last six years the migrants have continued to follow the harvest path of American agriculture, from the fields to the factories. From Florida to upstate New York to Texas to the Midwest. Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and even a few poor whites come to trade their bodies and their dignity for enough food to eat, a leaky roof over their heads, and maybe enough extra to get them to the next field or the next factory.

Michael Harrington described the migrants very well: they are part of the "invisible poor." Many spend an entire harvest season living on company property. They work in the company fields or factories, eating in the company cafeterias, and sleeping in the labor camps the company generously provides rent free. When the season ends they cram themselves into a friend's rickety car or truck and drive straight to their next destination, be it orange groves in Florida, canneries in Illinois or Missouri, or maybe, when even these fail, home to Texas where most of the Mexicans have relatives.

They are invisible people and, like most of us who like to think of ourselves as informed citizens, I had never seen them either. But jobs were scarce last summer and as a last resort I decided to head for a canning factory in

Mendota, a small town in Northern Illinois. It was there that I first saw the invisible people.

## Mendota Is Typical

Mendota is typical of small towns throughout the Midwest. With a population of six or seven thousand, the town is quiet and easy going, dependent on the crops growing in the surrounding fields. But the crops of this area are not just the corn and soybeans that dominate the rest of Illinois and much of the Midwest. Here there are vegetables: peas, sweet corn, green and lima beans.

And it is here that the work is. Pickers, machine operators, truck drivers, and factory workers. Here is where, for three months every summer, the migrants come.

On the east side of Mendota stand the grain elevators. A little farther east is the fertilizer factory. And farther yet, far back from the road, stands the tall, grey, cannery, an ugly structure of dirty windows and belching chimneys. In front of the factory is a small, almost indistinguishable red and green sign — Del Monte.

On the left of the factory driveway are the camps. One for single men, one for families. Both are surrounded by tall thick shrubs and a chainlink fence topped with barbed wire. Inside are the small cabins looking very much like World War II prisoner of war huts. There is only one way in or out of the single men's camp, through the main gate. There a man sits twenty-four hours a day, signing in new workers and watching the hip pockets of

the old workers for suspicious bulges. It was here that I crossed over into the world of the invisible people.

### Living As A Migrant

"You get two sheets, two towels, two blankets, and a pillowcase," the gatekeeper said. "Your pillow is on your bunk. You also get a key to one locker. Fail to return any of these items and their cost will be deducted from your pay. You're in Cabin Four."

There were eight double bunks in Cabin Four, sixteen beds in all. Most of them were empty. In one an old man snored fitfully. Two other men lay smoking on their bunks. All were white. I was white and had been assigned to a "white" cabin. Even in the camp itself an effort was made to keep the great majority of the migrants, the Mexicans and the Puerto Ricans, separate and invisible. I later discovered that even the numbers on my work card were coded according to race.

The factory in Mendota, as well as similar factories throughout the mid-west, have come to depend more and more on migrant labor during the long summer growing season. Conversely, technological advances in field machinery and harvesting techniques have caused the migrants to depend more and more on the factory for their livelihood. This change, while sparing the migrant the hot sun on his back, has not made his plight any more visible. Now the average citizen does not even see the migrants in the fields. Now they are hidden in the sweatshops.

In a country that prides itself on the great strides that labor in general has made in the area of wages and working conditions the particular area of migrant labor has been almost completely ignored. My first day on the job I worked for eight hours picking up gallon cans of corn in each hand and sliding them along a metal table to another worker who pushed them toward the packing machine. Across the table, doing the same job I was, was a Mexican about forty years old. On the back of his hand, just above the thin gold wedding band, was a tattoo: Born to Suffer. For our day's work we each received \$13.20. Being single, I could get by on that amount, but what about the man? With his \$13.20 he had to feed and clothe a wife and who knows how many children. Because he lived in the company housing along with the other families, he is forced to buy his food from the overpriced company cafeteria (\$.25 for a small can of soup, \$.50 for a stale sandwich) unless he had a car which few migrants do. And even the meager amount he earned could be cut off by a drought or a heavy rain which could shut down the factory. During the summer I spent in Mendota it was unusual for the factory to work five days straight. A pay check of thirty dollars a week was common. By the end of my first day it was plain that that simple tattoo summed up in three words the plight of all who have fallen into the tragic category of migrant worker.

## MIGRANT CHILDREN ABUSED

The agricultural child labor scene in 1970 is reminiscent of the sweatshop scene in 1938, according to a report issued by the American Friends Service Committee which adds, "Agriculture is the third most hazardous industry in this country. Children should not be allowed to work in agriculture."

*Child Labor in Agriculture, Summer 1970*, is based on investigations conducted by five teams in Ohio, Maine, Washington, Oregon, and California. The project was done in cooperation with the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children.

"We have described the stooping and crawling in intense heat for eight to ten hours a day. We have described the unsanitary conditions of both fields and housing quarters. We have cited cases where children are in fact missing school. It should be intolerable for a sizeable segment of a major industry (agriculture) to depend on child labor for its survival. In America, in 1970, it is not only tolerated, it is encouraged," the report concludes.

Investigators found children from the age of six on up working in the fields. They further cited instances of crops that were heavily dependent on child labor for harvesting, as in the case of Aroostook County, Maine, where some 35% of the potato acreage is hand harvested by crews composed largely of children.

The existence of a large pool of children depresses wages for the adults in farm labor, thus making it necessary for entire families to work in order to survive, according to the report.

The study criticizes the fact that agricultural workers are not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and that children in agriculture are specifically excluded from most child labor laws.

"At the very least, children in agricultural work should be covered by the laws which pertain to all children who work in hazardous industries," the author points out.

The study also recommends a revision of current law to set specifically the months and times when a child under sixteen may not work in order to insure that children do not miss school during the harvest period.

The study emphasizes the inadequacy of current statistics on child labor in agriculture. It points out that "no one knows how many children are working in the fields. Officials at all levels use estimates, or simply do not count any child below a certain age. Earning reports are unreliable because of the practice of paying families, rather than individuals; or the practice of putting more than one person on a social security card."

### Unionized In Winter

Perhaps a better term for factories like the Del Monte plant is "summer sweatshop." For in the winter the factory is run much like any other factory. The workers are unionized and they have adequate salaries. For the work I did I was paid \$1.65 an hour. If I had been doing the same work during the winter and belonged to the union, I would have been paid \$2.80 an hour. The winter workers, mostly white, and mostly from the surrounding area are guaranteed a certain number of hours they will work per week. There is usually only one shift per day.

In the summer everything is reversed. Pay is determined only by what the minimum wage law forces the company to pay: \$1.65 an hour. There is a ten cent raise for every season worked. Thus a worker who has given Del Monte three seasons of toil can expect all of \$1.95 an hour. Nothing is guaranteed. If it rains for a week and the factory cannot operate, it's just tough luck for the workers.

Strikes are nonexistent. The workers know that if they ever struck for union recognition or higher wages the company would have them replaced with scab labor in a matter of days. The day I left Mendota there were rumors of an impending demonstration for higher wages and more working hours. A foreman, one of the few who felt any compassion toward the migrants, said, "I sure hope they don't. It would be bad for them."

There are two shifts in the summer, day and night. The length of the shift depends on how well the harvesting in the fields is going. It could be four hours a day, three days a week; it could be ten hours a day, seven days a week.

### No Protection

There are no guaranteed hours. Work depends solely on the weather. A heavy rain can make the fields too muddy for the machines. A corn blight, such as the one that struck all over the country last summer can shut down the factory for days.

With the exception of the minimum wage law, legislative protection for the migrant is either inadequate or nonexistent. On the window of the Del Monte pay office is posted a copy of the federal Fair Practices Act. This act states that overtime (at least time-and-a-half) must be paid after 40 hours of work per week. However, down near the bottom of the page is a clause giving employers a ten week exemption period during which they do not have to pay overtime until 48 hours has been worked. This ten week exemption is not used during the winter when the labor is organized to fight it. It is used in the heart of the summer to further deprive the migrant of a fair return for his labor. The very name "Fair Practices" is a cruel joke on the migrant.

The most obvious problem the migrant has in obtaining the benefits of his winter counterpart is organization. He has none. The very name migrant gives the reason why. The migrant worker is never in one place long enough to obtain any of the rights of residency or to qualify for any relief programs to see him through periods when there is no work. He is a citizen without a state, without a home.

Labor organizing is difficult for several reasons. First, the number of migrants is far greater than the number of jobs. This fact looms like an axe over the heads of the migrants, who are well aware of the people waiting to take their jobs if they step out of line. Second, the supply of jobs is shrinking. Technological advances in both the field and factory equipment are making it increasingly hard to find work. When the ancient machines in the Del Monte plant are finally replaced the work force will be cut drastically.

The passive character of many of the migrants makes them hard to stir to collective action. They have been forced to suffer for so long that their outlook on life becomes like the man with the tattoo: they feel they are born to suffer. Only death and the hereafter (in which most fervently believe) will relieve their burden. Suffering is the way their lives have always been and there is nothing in their present life to convince them that the future can be any different.

### Filth Is Everywhere

Even their leisure time is filled with discomfort and suffering. Sanitation facilities consist of one large combination toilet and bath house for the entire camp. Filth is everywhere. There are several ancient wringer type washing machines for the workers who try to keep clean in spite of the dirt that surrounds them. The only good thing in the whole bath house is the hot water. As I stood in the shower after my first day's work, I closed my eyes to concentrate on the soothing warmth of the water and to forget about the brown slime that covered the walls and floor of the shower stall.

Recreation facilities consisted of a shack with a television set and two mangled arm chairs. There are a few card tables and chairs for the men to gamble away the little money they have.

A small percentage of migrants are white. Most are old. They are the unskilled, the alcoholic, the rejects of white society. They come to the camps because they can live for free and earn enough for another drinking bout or perhaps bus fare back home, wherever home may be. They are bitter, dejected men. They feel they have been cheated by America and say so openly. They lie on their bunks and talk far into the night. They speak of the "corruption of the system." Some even favored revolution, saying that if the young ever revolted, they would be the first to pick up a gun and join them.

But while the whites can at least claim some small part, however dirty or neglected, of the American culture, the Puerto Ricans and the Mexicans, are trapped by their own culture which is totally alien to that in which they find themselves. Even the language is a barrier. Many are wetbacks, who live in constant fear of being discovered. Many, especially the young, are supporting families in Mexico. Many are illiterate, and the migratory way of life guarantees that neither they nor their children will ever get a decent education.

These are near impossible barriers to overcome. The average migrant must fight against ignorance, the law, the language, and the culture, all the while trying to feed himself and his family.

Far too often the burden American society places on these individuals becomes too great. The men, desperate to forget the humiliations of their daily lives, drink up what little money they have.

### The Border Patrol in Illinois

Violence is ingrained in the migrant way of life. The twenty-odd murders in Yuba City, California may have been an extreme, but individual knifings and even shootings are common. The police are frequent and hated visitors to the labor camps. I woke up one morning and found that the Border Patrol had come in the night and taken away eleven wetbacks. One of them was a boy of fifteen who was supporting his parents, sisters, and brothers back in Mexico. The Border Patrol in Illinois, a seemingly incredible yet common fact of migrant life.

Much of migrant life seems incredible now that I have left it. The long hours, seven days a week, the subsistence wages, the prison camp atmosphere. But I was lucky, I could leave.

So much could be done for the people left behind. Their most immediate need is for a decent wage. The minimum wage must be raised to at least two dollars an hour. The hated exemption in the Fair Practices Act must be repealed.

Migrant workers must be unionized. They must be eligible for the same pay and benefits as their unionized counterparts. This will take public pressure on company officials as well as help from those already in the unions.

Residency requirements throughout the nation must be eased to allow migrants to obtain welfare and other relief benefits to see them through many of the hard times between jobs.

It's easy to overlook the ugly side of American life and the migrant way of life is certainly one of the ugliest. It's easy to close one's eyes; but by doing so we become ugly America. If people would open their eyes, six years from now there would be no need for another article like this one.

*Tom Gilmore is working for the News-Gazette in Champaign, Illinois.*



# Study charges neglect of urban minority cultures

White cultural standards of beauty, thought, and language still dominate the curriculum of metropolitan schools and inhibit the black and brown student's capacity to read, write, and think, states a two-year study of the arts and minority youth sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education and made by The Communications Foundation of Santa Barbara, California. The report cites the majority of urban schools for mispending federal funds on "cultural enrichment" programs and for ignoring the cultural heritage of millions of inner-city school children. The report was authored by Don D. Bushnell, president of The Communications Foundation, and a consultant to the President's Commission on Civil Rights. (When the study was conducted, research in the Midwest region was directed by FOCUS/Midwest.)

"The popular phrase 'culturally deprived' is an absurdity in reference to the Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Mexican/American," states the report, "and while the rise of black arts centers and ethnic theatre became a major force in the neighborhood arts movement, it did not find fertile soil in the public schools."

The report suggests "the cultural dominance of the white majority in the language arts programs of the urban schools particularly discriminates against the Negro child. Spanish speaking students are clearly of another culture, but the black students are viewed by many educators as simply lacking in their education and, as a result, the living Negro dialect is little appreciated or understood in the schools. The effect is to restrict both the reading and writing styles of the Negro child." The report further states, "Many non-school arts centers, on the other hand, encourage students to 'do their own thing' in their own language and lifestyle. In this manner, the Negro dialect of the inner city serves as a bridge to the acquisition of mainstream language skills and expedites the reading and writing of standard English."

The report, entitled *The Arts, Education, And The Urban Sub-Culture*, surveyed over three hundred and twenty community arts centers that were non-school-related, including some forty-six ethnic art projects, and two hundred and thirty school arts projects in twenty major cities and twelve rural counties. The report contrasts the school programs with the community-based activities and finds that in all measures except one the non-school programs do a better job in arts education:

1. While both the school districts and the neighborhood arts programs hired practicing artists, the non-school centers in storefronts, settlement houses, and tenement buildings, attracted non-credentialed professionals who had greater visibility and drawing power for youth; they also had a larger number of male instructors and ethnic artists on the staff.
2. The neighborhood-based arts activities offered a greater variety of art forms to the youth - street theatre, film-making, docu-drama or improvisational theater, musical touring groups, rock bands - and often paid the trained students for their performances. Schools largely restricted musical training to bands and orchestras, dance essentially to girls, and dramatic training to little theatre productions.
3. The school arts training relied essentially on "exposure to

someone else's creations" while neighborhood arts centers demanded "active participation and creation by the students themselves." The report lists over one hundred and eighty original films, scripts, and scores by individual students produced outside the schools.

4. However, the urban schools taught a larger number of minority students than did non-school centers (by 10 to 1), but non-school projects had a lower student/teacher ratio.

The most successful of the community-based programs were those that were minimally funded by outside agencies for year-round activity, and had no strings attached to support "establishment" values of a religious or social nature.

From interviews with one hundred leading artists involved with minority youth, e.g., Topper Carew, James Woods, Katherine Dunham, Oscar Brown, Jr., and Eleo Pomare, the report characterizes the successful artist/director as having: (a) a common ethnic background; (b) a successful work history; and (c) an ability to communicate extraordinarily with minority youth.

The most successful arts programs for the inner city student offer: (a) an immediate opportunity to get actively involved; (b) short-range objectives so that immediate goals can be readily perceived and achieved; and (c) a work environment that is informal, easily accessible, and student dominated.

The report concludes with several major recommendations for immediate action:

1. Implement a Performing Arts Academy or high school in every major city.
2. Encourage educational administrators to be less concerned with "cultural uplift" and offer more support for artists-in-residence. Discontinue concerts and subsidized professional performances in favor of workshops for students and creative experiences in the classroom.
3. Give high priority to the development of reading and writing skills through film and television productions. In music, "de-emphasize the peripheral activity of producing music in bands and orchestras; instead place emphasis upon creative composition with accent on technique and modes of expression that have relevance to the twentieth century."
4. Use the arts as an early recruitment vehicle for future minority teachers.
5. Develop a New York City Urban Art Corps for other major cities.
6. Initiate a federally funded program to redesign the urban curriculum around black urban art centers like The New Thing in Washington, D.C., and the integrated Studio Watts in Los Angeles.
7. Launch a nationwide campaign for the arts as an essential ingredient in general education. The student's sense of personal well-being and his ability to communicate can be achieved through the arts, states the report. "Experience in dance or theatre provides poise, body control, stage presence, effective use of voice and language. Involvement in the arts leads to growing aesthetic awareness, to insight into one's strengths, and an openness to a changing society. The arts can become a means to self-actualization and self-understanding," concludes the national study.

# A new plan: a children's allowance which discourages big families

*Substantial progress has been made in the war on poverty, yet one American child in six still lives in want. To alleviate this situation it has been suggested that the government provide a monthly subsistence allowance to each child.*

*Children's Allowance is politically unpopular because it is viewed as a baby bonus that will encourage the poor to proliferate even more.*

*The National Family Support Program (NFSP) described here offers an alternative that retains the attractive features of a children's allowance system and meets the baby bonus criticism by incorporating incentives for fertility control.*

## Persistent Poverty

The anomaly of continuing poverty in a prosperous U.S. society has attracted much attention of late. A government expert has estimated that total assistance from all sources in 1968 reached the impressive level of more than \$40 billion.

These massive expenditures have brought about substantial reductions in the ranks of the poor. Between 1964 and 1968 their number dropped from 34 to 22 million. Even so, more than five million American households still subsist in poverty. More poignant yet is the fact that these households include almost eleven million children – pathetic victims of a world they did not choose.

## A National Birthright

Some economists have calculated that to permanently close the poverty gap we must somehow find means to transfer directly to the poor between \$11 – \$30 billion per year. How can we accomplish this transfer in an equitable manner?

One way would be to recognize and compensate the most fundamental contribution made to this or any nation – the rearing of its children.

Since the end of World War II, sixty-two nations around

the world have recognized the relationship of child welfare to that of the nation through some form of children's allowance. For more than ten years, for instance, Canada has provided by law that every child in the nation is entitled to an allowance which increases with his age from a minimum of \$6 per month at birth to \$10 per month until 17 years of age.

## A Baby Bonus?

Family allowance proposals are politically vulnerable. Even those who do not believe that allowances actively encourage child-bearing, admit that it would lighten the burden of raising a large family. There is obviously considerable substance to the latter contention. These deeply rooted beliefs have created a barrier to the passage of children's allowance legislation in the U.S.

The National Family Support Program (NFSP) might well contain the answer. It is based on four principles that should provide support for each child in the nation, get cash into the hands of the needy, and yet discourage rapid, uncontrolled childbearing.

The first principle, the baby *baseline*, provides a basic monthly allowance for each child. Under this provision every child is entitled by birth to a monthly support pay-

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	Ceiling
Start-up and Growth																									
(M) + Early C + Late C	0	0	0	0	0	C 20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	40	40	C 40	44	48	52	56	60	\$ 80.00
1 (C) + Early C + Late C	20	22	24	C 40	44	48	52	56	60	64	68	72	76	80	80	A C 60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	\$ 60.00
2 (C) + C	40	44	48	52	56	60	64	68	72	76	80	80	80	A C 60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	\$ 60.00
5 (C) + C + CC + C	100	100	100	C 120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	CC 160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	C 180	180	\$180.00

KEY TO CHART: (M)=Married couple before the birth of the first child / (C)=Child born to the family BEFORE the start-up of the program.  
C=Child born AFTER the program is in operation / CC=Twins. / A=Annulment Provision comes into effect.

(This schedule operates under the following terms:

BASELINE: \$20 per month for each child until age 18.

FERTILITY CONTROL INCENTIVE (FCI): Rises \$2 per month for each child to ceiling of double Baseline (or another birth).

RECALCULATION: Temporary wiping out of all FCI payments with birth of each new baby.

ANNULMENT: With birth of third child FCI payments permanently terminated, but Baseline payments continue uninterrupted.



ment until he reaches his middle or late teens. Experts suggest that \$10 to \$20 per month would be reasonable.

The second one is the *fertility control incentive (FCI)*. This provision would increase the baseline allowance by one or two dollars per month – so long as the mother has no additional child – until it reaches an established ceiling of, say, double or triple the baseline.

The third principle is that of *recalculation*. Whenever an additional child is born, all increases gained under the FCI are wiped out and the family reverts to the baseline payment for each child. From that point forward the FCI would again increase benefits by one or two dollars per month until the ceiling was again reached or another child was born.

The fourth principle is that of *annulment*. Parents deciding to ignore a national norm for optimum family size (perhaps two or three children) would be free to do so and would still continue receiving baseline payments for each and every child born, but they would become ineligible for

further FCI payments when family size went past the national norm. The chart below illustrates the operation of the system.

### Social Implication

- The NFSP program is voluntary since discretion on child-bearing and on family size remains permanently with the parents.

- It is "universal" in that *every* child in the nation is eligible by birth, regardless of parents' income or any other circumstances. This provision eliminates expensive and humiliating means tests and eligibility investigations that absorb a substantial fraction of the funds disbursed.

- The system is based on the psychological premise that small, repetitive rewards produce the best results in encouraging desired behavior.

- It also relies, for its incentive effects, on the differential importance of money at varying income levels. We know, for instance, that the millionaire may look on ten dollars as a pittance, whereas the share-cropper may view it as one whole week of survival for his family. Thus, while the monetary incentives indicated here may appear to some to be too small to influence reproductive decisions, this appearance may be deceptive.

- Perhaps most important of all, it would guarantee basic sustenance during the critical formative years of a child's development.

### Economic Implications

- NFSP provides a large mass of potential consumers with cash that permits flexibility of choice in meeting the particular needs of each family, instead of perpetuating a cumbersome system of relief-in-kind.

- By nature and design it is virtually cheat-proof.

- It does not discourage the poor from working for extra income, unlike welfare programs that decrease payments as income rises.

- It complies with the Supreme Court's recent ruling that residence requirements must be eliminated, in support payments, while at the same time mildly discouraging rural-urban migration (because with fixed payments it is better to remain outside of high cost areas).

- It is non-disruptive in the sense that it can be gradually phased into operation to complement, supplement, or replace current, less efficient welfare systems.

### Fiscal Dynamics

According to experts, a baseline monthly allowance of \$15 for each child under sixteen would cost about \$12 billion. When in full operation, the fertility control provision would cost about \$5 billion. Even assuming maximum total costs of \$20 billion, the NFSP would still fit comfortably within the \$40 billion framework of present assistance programs and leave the margin necessary to continue other special welfare and relief programs for the needy and the aged.

Assuming that the fertility control incentive proved effective, the cost of that provision would be partially or wholly offset by compensating savings in social overhead, i.e., extra schools, housing, transportation, etc., that would otherwise be required for additional millions of children.

*J. Daniel Loubert has been with the U.S. Department of State for 17 years, during which time he has spent eight years monitoring behavioral science research including research related to population and family planning. Currently, he is an evaluation officer with the Agency for International Development. He is also a member of the Society for General Systems Research. Readers interested in reprints should contact FOCUS/Midwest; those interested in additional information should contact Dr. Loubert at 7501 Sebago Road, Bethesda, Maryland 20034.*

## GRUNION RUN / *Robert Stock* for Arthur Boericke

Four nights after moon's full  
I trudge out on a June beach  
to bind the ninth wave's spell,  
still thinking to pool meaning  
from the ebbing seasons  
aground in my veins; but catch  
only slack waves tipped  
with phosphorescence that turns  
limpet, oyster and clam  
inimical to man.

This is last of the year's  
twelve nights when grunion spawn,  
timed with the moon and sun,  
just after high tide-turning  
and just before the ebbing  
— silversides, like brit,  
each two fingers' span  
in pairs scaling a wave,  
riding the crest of my blood  
on the almanac's pulsative.

When the comber shoals out  
they scud along on sand,  
where the runnel flows back  
the female drills her tail  
in the packed sand, and the male  
clammers across her. They suck  
alien air while seed  
is buried and their trove  
milted before the pair  
escape by the next wave.

Do they have time to regret  
the ninth wave. Two weeks only  
are spared to hatch the roe,  
helpless as plankton; then  
a mad moon's higher tide  
unsepulchres them to swim  
home, fry, to the moon-warped sea.  
Never a closer seed-hour  
brings so many a hundred  
unfathomably aware.

When my ninth wave's long spate  
clammers from the windrows  
of accumulation, may it  
reel me in on its rush  
and seed me deep in its crash;  
for all the way home through night  
I cast a school of shadows,  
myself and the slippery fish,  
in and out, half in depth,  
enmeshed in untouchable flesh.

---

*Robert Stock has published one book of poems, Covenants, in 1967 (Trident Press). A second is in preparation. He has been published in Poetry, Yale Review, Nation, and others.*

## WE, THE SILENT MAJORITY / *J. J. Maloney*

We are the silent majority —  
We go about our business quietly.  
Our homes are the suburbs . . .

They were given to us by God,  
and He saith:

"Thou art the chosen people —  
thou of the taciturn face,  
for you have stern eyes  
and hard tongues  
and thou brookest no evil —  
thou art veritable saints.

"To you are given the answers  
to all things,

and Spiro Agnew is your prophet.

"Thou shalt prepare thyself  
for the day of Judgment

by purging thy minds of unpleasantness  
as reported by heretics —

and if a man shall smite thee  
on one cheek, thou

shalt gut-shoot him with the .38's  
thou hast hidden away.

"Do these things, and thou  
shalt enter the kingdom of Heaven —  
by force, if necessary."

## The Moribunds / *Knute Skinner*

When we woke up today we were all dying.

Our helpless bodies, these bodies You gave us, were lying  
shattered and burned and covered with ugly sores.

Blood ran from our pores.

"What have You done to us, God, what have You done to us?" cried  
those who had not yet died.

Then we were drowned in coughing and our eyes were red.

"Well, it's the Bomb I suppose," somebody said,  
fighting for voice enough to promote his view.

"We're finished now whatever we do."

Finished, we all were finished, that much was clear.

Yet even with death that near

"What have You done to us, God?" we cried again.

As if the answer were not plain.

You have done to us, Sir, what You have always done.

Only You used to finish us one by one.

---

*Joseph John Maloney is a prisoner at the Missouri State Penitentiary. He is a poet, writer, and painter.*

*Knute Skinner has been published in The New Republic, Antioch Review, N. Y. Times Book Review, New Statesman, Prairie Schooner, FOCUS/Midwest, and many other periodicals. He is the author of three books. The last, "In Dinosaur Country" (Pierian Press, Greeley, Colo.), was published in March 1969. He is also represented in many anthologies.*



They have said, my  
friends have said  
the couch I built,  
the couch I lie on,  
smells like a dead animal.  
I have tried,  
bending low inhaling  
deep, to smell it.  
I have tried  
and I cannot.

I am lying here now,  
wondering why my legs  
poke out beyond the arm rest,  
why I no longer fit  
this couch, lying here  
waiting for a smell  
of rot to permeate  
my nose my hands,  
waiting  
while air conditioners drone  
and it rains.

Is it sweet,  
does it smell of forests, ports, women,  
whatever pleases you,  
do you fit where you sleep,  
do you sleep  
where you lie?

**GREATGRANDMOTHER WHISKERS FROM KIEV /**  
*Joan F. Berns*

Such Sunday afternoons those must have been for you;  
the alien children scattered like spilled-out  
goldfish on the Oriental rug.  
Capable of parthenogenic improvements  
the children fashion octopus-arms out of air  
and reach for the glass bowl above them,  
red in the ruby window and filled  
with marbles, mottled and many as eyes,  
greatgrandmother eyes,  
whiskered and weeping.

Winter afternoons mostly, we found mustache-wax  
and sachets, brown ribbon with picot-edging  
and hairnets wrapped in blue tissue  
in the bottom drawer of your commode.  
The same snow fell beyond other Sunday afternoon windows,  
but for you it fell like a dust along frayed carpet-fringes,  
coating the children, blotting them out  
of sight. You slept so long that  
they passed into the carpet,  
already they are half-woven into the colors  
of the rug. They are still waiting, however  
for your precise attention,  
waiting for the look you are powerless  
to give

**THE ROOM / *Harry Martin***

Above guitars, above antique toys  
Where a haze streams from blue mirrors,  
The clock says eleven.

Children have taken my voice  
And put it in a ring of smoke, laughing  
As the clock goes on saying eleven.

They disappear into vases  
And send their shadows out looking like paper flowers,  
And the clock tells the spiders eleven.

Seeing the guitars and antique toys  
An old man gives his dreams up one by one.  
The clock whispers eleven to the sea.

A boy with dark skin taps at windows  
Inside my eyes, begging me to let him out.  
The clock on its mountain of silver  
Goes on saying eleven.

I will find a room like this  
With wide verandas opening to the sea  
And sunshine to die in  
And a clock that goes on saying eleven.

**METAMORPHOSIS / *John Palen***

the mind ranges the page  
tracking back to compare  
to find the essential phrase

the man closes the book  
and listens becomes aware  
of his body under his clothes

aware of the hungry dog  
who crouches under his skin  
he hears the rain begin

now the dog tracks in a field  
a spiral winding in

---

*Armand Foster has an uncle who runs a fish farm  
near Vancouver.*

*Joan F. Berns is a graduate student at Brandeis. Her poems  
have been published in The Beloit Poetry Journal, Alkahest,  
Dasein, Greccourt Review, and in International Literary Annual.*

*Harry Martin was born in western Kansas, and is now living  
in St. Louis. Most of the last few years he has spent in Mexico  
and Central America. His poems have been published in  
Choice, Red Clay Reader, Poetry Northwest, Perspective and  
Sou'wester.*

*John Palen is a journalist in Edwardsville, Ill. He has pub-  
lished poems recently in Spirit and Concerning Poetry.*

## THE RETURN / *Joseph de Roche*

I am coming home  
Like the cows,  
With bells on

Shouting "Grandpa,  
I love you"  
And "Grandma,

I love you."  
We're all a little bit crazy  
But not many of us

Can live it the way you do,  
So completely, carrying it  
Right into the pasture

And beyond.  
Hoeing potatoes, Grandpa,  
And, See, here they are again

Your fiery angels  
Crying out with voices like bells,  
Cowbells, "Hurrah, Hurrah."

And Grandma  
Milking in her wedding dress,  
Dancing at midnight

That same way  
And with nobody —  
But it was a waltz

And that takes two.  
So here I am years later  
With only an assortment of wicked lovers

(though they were beautiful)  
To show for myself,  
And myself

Which is worse yet.  
Well, thinking about you,  
Now and again, like this,

Is a great relief,  
Because, oh, the style you had  
And I'm envious.

So I almost believe  
I'm home, really, like the cows  
And with bells on,

Clanging "Hello, Goodbye, Goodbye,  
My two good fools"  
And no one,

Not even myself,  
Can take you away.

*Joseph de Roche's first book, The Inhabited Scroll, was published by Northeastern University where he teaches. His poems have appeared in The Antioch Review and in Northeast.*

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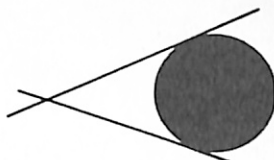
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## THE RIGHT WING

An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. 3, No. 6) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and Fanatics" describing 45 organizations and its leaders located or active in Missouri and Illinois. The Roster is available at \$1 each. The following regular column keeps the information current.

### AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL

The letterhead of the ASC lists as members of the National Strategy Committee Robert W. Galvin, Chairman of the Board, Motorola, and G. Duncan Bauman, Publisher, St. Louis Globe-Democrat; and as member of its National Advisory Board, Rep. Durward Hall (Mo.) and Dr. John A. Howard, president, Rockford College.

### FBI AND THE RIGHT WING

A little-known but well-heeled foundation set up with liquor industry money by

top assistants to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover is creeping into the news. Part of the attention comes from ties between underworld characters and Lewis Rosenstiel, the principal benefactor of the Foundation and, until recently, head of Schenley Industries. Another part comes from connections of the Foundation with the organized right wing.

In 1965, the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation was incorporated by Louis B. Nichols, formerly Hoover's top assistant, and two other FBI men. Nichols was then executive vice president of Schenley (he retired recently). Officers included other FBI and Schenley people, with Nichols being president and Cartha De Loach, then a top assistant to Hoover, being secretary. De Loach has since become a top executive of Pepsico. Purposes of the Foundation, which got tax-exempt status, included perpetuating "the ideals and purposes to which the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover has dedicated his life," to combat communism, and "to act in conjunction with Freedoms Foundation," the right-wing organization at Valley Forge, Pa.

A New York Legislative Committee on Crime which is looking into Rosenstiel's connections heard Nichols declare that the former "shunned any connection with the

underworld like the plague," but he later acknowledged that several such figures were entertained frequently by Rosenstiel and distributed Schenley products. Nichols said that before joining Schenley he used the resources of the FBI to investigate his prospective employer. (N.Y. Times 3/21/71)

Although the Hoover Foundation has spent very little of more than a million dollars received from Rosenstiel sources, the major beneficiary has been Freedoms Foundation, where there is a one-room J. Edgar Hoover Library on Communism. Hoover has won several top awards from Freedoms Foundation, including its first \$5,000 George Washington award for the most outstanding individual contribution to freedom, in 1957. Nichols is on its National Corporations Committee, presumably a fund-raiser. De Loach, who handled public relations for Hoover for years, has also been Chairman of the Public Relations Commission of the American Legion. In 1967 he actually handed Hoover the Legion's award for 50 years of outstanding service.

Group Research, Inc., has learned that a former employee of Freedoms Foundation has suggested to a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee that the Foundation has used FBI files to check potential award winners.

Another supporter of the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation has been the American Jewish League Against Communism, an old right-wing group headed by Roy Cohn when it gave the Hoover group several hundred dollars (which it had received from a Rosenstiel fund). Cohn is extremely close to Rosenstiel and was formerly the top assistant to the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

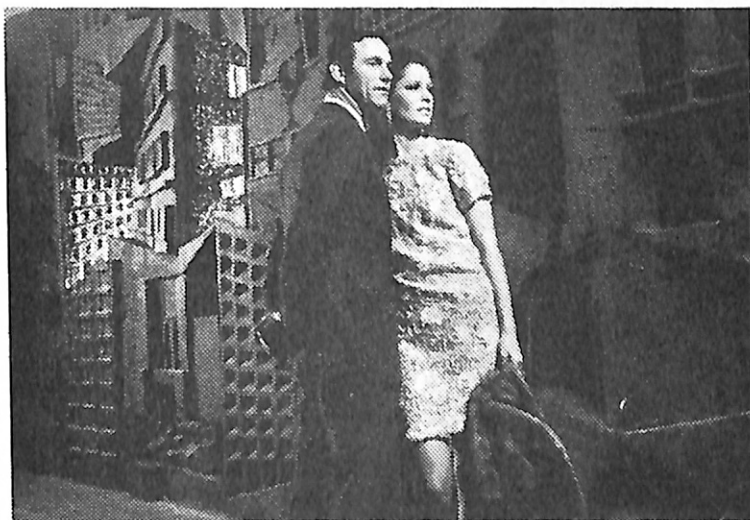
### FREEDOM FORUM

The 34th Annual Freedom Forum conducted by George S. Benson on the campus of Harding College, at Searcy, Arkansas, succeeded in getting a top official of the Nixon Administration — Will Wilson, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, in charge of the Criminal Division. He spoke on the law and order theme. Benson has retired as President of Harding but continues to run the National Education Program, a fountain of ultraconservative material since he started it in 1936. His assistant at NEP is Glenn Green, who left Searcy for a few years to be a paid organizer for the John Birch Society, then an employee of the National Right to Work Committee, before returning to Benson's side.

Thanks to the efforts of Rep. Abner Mikva (D. Ill.) the "Friends of the FBI" and the Chicago-based Commission for International Due Process of Law, a tax-exempt group, have parted company.

Unable to take advantage of the tax-exempt status of the Commission, the Friends are now applying for its own exemption.

The latest gimmick of the right wing's ingenuity for exploiting current causes, Friends of the FBI is an example of how a



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professional, existing, respectable structure can be turned into a propaganda mill almost overnight. The ingredients include an instant cause (defense of J. Edgar Hoover), an established group (the Commission), financial possibilities (tax-exemption), a promoter (Lee Edwards), and big name (Efrem Zimbalist, Jr.).

These were mixed and tried on a mailing list of 50,000 conservatives on the Hollywood letterhead of Zimbalist with a request that money be sent to a Washington address that turned out to be nothing more than a secretarial service. The actor's appeal mentioned the high qualities of Mr. Hoover, alleged a "vicious smear campaign" against him, and asked for money to defend him and his agency, noting tax deductibility.

An investigative reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, Jack Nelson, wrote that he had learned from Luis Kutner, chairman of the Due Process Commission, that the idea had been brought to him by Lee Edwards.

Edwards, the first editor of the Young Americans for Freedom, is running a public relations firm whose clients include the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the UN. In 1969, his office handled a new group exploiting the law and order issue under the name of National Institute for Law/Order/Justice, which was dominated by right-wing names. On his letterhead was Luis Kutner.

Reporter Nelson learned from at least two of those on the letterhead of Kutner's due process group that they had never heard of the Friends of the FBI, and one didn't even know he was on the letterhead.

(In 1969, Kutner helped Edwards and Ed Butler - then operator of the Information Council of the Americas - by appearing on their right-wing program in a Chicago suburb.)

Before the Friends split from the Commission, to be effective August 31, their campaign had raised in "excess of \$100,000." Kutner told Mikva in a letter that his Commission "had withdrawn" from the FBI project.

## LIBERTY LOBBY

Liberty Lobby has published a major new pamphlet, "America First," which pleads for non-intervention in the Middle East. Couched in the language of traditional U.S. foreign policy and of anti-Zionism, it will be easily recognized as anti-Semitic.

## TEDDY BARE

*Teddy Bare* is the trick title of a savage book published by a subsidiary of the John Birch Society to help polish off "the last of the Kennedy Clan," Senator Edward Kennedy, and put the Chappaquiddick tragedy to use in Birch ideology. The conclusion equates that tragedy with Yalta, the loss of China, the Bay of Pigs, etc. The book was written by Zad Rust, a pen name for someone who has written for the fascist *American Mercury*.

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